THE PRO-SLAVERY REBELLION.

STRANGE RUMORS FROM CHARLESTON Major Anderson said to be in League with the Rebels.

Surrender of Fort Sumter Contemplated.

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Cov. Letcher Bisapproves of New-York's Position. Col. Hayne's Letter to the President.

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FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

A TEMPORARY CALM-INCIDENTS. From Our Own Correspondent.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Jan. 16, 1861, ? Wednesday, a. m.

The stirring events of the past week have been succeeded by a general colm. The community is under the impression that the mission of Col. Hayne and Lieut, Hall to Washington will result in the withdrawal of Major Anderson from Fort Samter, and perhaps the restoration of matters in the harber to where they were before the evacnation of Fort Moultrie. But the leaders do not fully share that belief, and it is for this reason that The Mercury this morning exhorts the autherities to continue with unabated zeal the preparations for defense and conflict. And those preparations do go on. The men at the forts and batteries are just as active as before. There is now but one idea, which is, in the event that the mission to Washington should fail, the storming of Fort Sumter.

Though there is but little excitement, the city and its suburbs are little less than a military encampment. Morning, noon, and night, at all hours, soldiers throng the streets; some in gay eniform, some in military undress, others in blouses and caps; some with swords, some with muskets, and others dawdling along without either. At nearly all hours of the day, there are drills and exercises on Citadel Green, where usually the dragoons, toward evening, cut the greatest figure. Late at nights you may hear squade of soldiers, on foot and horseback, tramping to and from points of embarkation. Now and then there go thundering through the streets immense 24 and 32-pound cannon, drawn by 15 or 20 mules, mounted by as many negroes. At other times, a full uniform company, with gay music, march through the streets, to or from duty. All this keeps up a lively scene, and affords topic enough for the loungers and moving crowds in the streets and on the corners.

Meanwhile Gov. Pickens, with some of his advisers, is at his heaquarters at the Court-House. They have work enough to do, nor does everything go smoothly, if the gossip may be credited. Though the Governor is a man who enjoys the reputation of being "insensible to fear," he is yet deficient in some other qualities supposed to be quite essential to his position in times like these. He is not a master spirit, and I fancy be would be glad to get rid of the Legislature, corts of information. Especially does there appear to be a desire to know the expense of things. The Governor cannot, at least does not,

A large proportion of the male population, between 21 and 50 years, have been diverted from their usual avocations to take up arms. As a matter of course, society is unbinged, and the demoralizing effect cannot in any event fail of being lasting. Many ladies employ themselves in providing comforts for the soldiers on active duty, such as blankets and camp necessaries; others, looking to dreaded consequences, have busied themselves in making bandages, litters, and chairs for the wounded, and such other consolutions as the active sympathy of woman can

Steamers continue to cruise in the offing on the look for an enemy. Row and sail-boas, with passports, ply to and fro between the city and the insurgents' camps. Parties at all hours visit their friends on duty at the forts and the batteries, and, as you may suppose, many creature comforts are in this way dispensed. Lucky is the soldier who has a friend, or, better still, an anxious mother or sister near at hand.

Meanwhile, Fort Sumter is silent, save now and then a gun fired, which gives warning that another of her "great guns" has been put in position. Workmen lately discharged confirm the reports that the men are on short allowance. I do not believe that Maj. Anderson has included in his reports to Washington that he is in need of no supplies. He may, for obvious reasons, have omitted to fully declare his situation in that respect, though it is hardly possible that the whole truth may not have been made known by verbal reports from Lieuts. Talbot and Hall.

A great many apecdotes and incidents are related as connected with the affair of the Star of the West. At the time that steamer came, Major Riply was in command of Fort Moultrie. The universal expectation was that when Morris Island battery fired on the steamer, Fort Sumter would open on Fort Moultrie, especially if the latter fired a shot. Major Riply's men seeing the firing from Morris Island, and comprehending the whole matter, became clamorous for the privilege of having a shot at the Star of the West. Sumter's portholes had been opened to eye shot of Riply's men, and sighted with the most perfect engineering skill. They knew it, but the opportunity was not to be lost. "Well," says Riply, jumping on the parapet, " fire away, "boys, but you will all be in h-Il in less than "five minutes." They did fire; but Major Anderson's forbearance defeated the verification of the prophecy.

The evening when the Brooklyn was known to be off the harbor, with the intention, as was supposed, of entering some time during the night, a commany of soldiers were ordered down to I canto' undertake to pronounce on rumors so

were so unlucky as to be left behind. "Never they come in a less questionable shape. mind, boys," said one of the departing hornes, "it will be your turn by and by; there well be a chance for us all, Come down in the morning and see us, and if her gues shall have been ton much for us, and you find us lying around loose, take us up gently-handle us with care!" And off they went to the tone of "Dixie,"

Wednesday, 16th, p. m .- The tide is rising again. Reports received during the day from Washington leave but little hope that the demand that Fort Sunter shall be evacuated will be granted. Strange as it may seem, the rebels seem really to have thought that the demand would be acquiesced in. There will be nothing left but the threat to storm and take Fort Sumter. Certainly everything is leading to the en-

The votes in Congress on questions of compromises make everything look gloomy here. The rebels replize the uprising of a stera foe. Every movement on the part of the Federal authorities to hold the Government property, and administer the revenue laws, they call coercion. They evidently prefer that all the coercion hould be on their side.

THE POST-OFFICE NEGOCIATIONS. From Our Special Correspondent.

CHARLESTON, Jan. 16-a, pt. So far as I have been able to learn, the supervision of letters in the Post-Office here is not very severe, in spite of the necessities which a state of war entails upon this Government, I may, however, be mistaken in this, as I have not thought it worth while to make very minute investigation as to these matters; indeed, THE TRIBUNE and I ought to say nothing against the conduct of the Charleston Post-Office, so long as it continues to carry our correspondence faith-

The dispatch received by the Governor last sight, from Washington, is not at all of the peaceful character which was anticipated here. On the contrary, he received news that Attorney-General Hayne, the Commissioner of the State of South Carolina, could not even obtain an official interview with the President, and we are again led to believe that this indicates an intention of coercion, and that hostilities are going to be recommenced by renewed attempts to reenforce Fort Sumter. So the day begins lugubriously enough. Last night was very stormy after a Spring day, and to-day it is warm again.

THE CAPTURE OF FORT SUMTER.

CHARLESTON, Jan. 16-p. m. The city has been thrown into great consternatien this evening by a dispatch from the President, during the day, which insists on the continued occupation of Fort Sumter by Maj. Anderson; and it is believed that the Government here will be compelled to attack the Fort in order to preserve the national honer, outraged by the menacing presence of this Federal force,

insignificant as it is, in the eyes of the South

Carolinian people. The necessity of putting an end to this by attacking the fort and dislodging Anderson is a cause of general consternation, from the fact that the youthful soldiers who are enlisted in the cause of South Carolina Independence, belong to the first families of the nation, and the blood which is seen to flow, is the best blood of Charleston. Unless the next 24 hours bring more peaceful news from Washington, I have little doubt that a terrible collision between the handful of Federal troops at Fort Sumter and

laved. The population here feels too deeply humiliated by the attitude of Fort Sumter and by the deterwho protract their sessions by calling for all mination of the President not to order Major Anderson to evacuate it, much langer to resist the temptation to storm the fort, and thus to vindicate the independence of South Carolina.

the South Carolinian troops cunnot be long de-

RUMORS OF CHARLESTON-EXPECTED SURRENDER OF SUMTEM. From Our Special Correspondent.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Wednesday Evening, Jan. 16, 1861. Strange and startling rumors are affeat. Without undertaking to say how much truth there is in them, I give them as they come to me.

It is asserted that Major Anderson has entered into a league with the rebels, by which they are to possess Fort Sumter. It is asserted that this is the real explanation of the late protracted conferences between him and Gov. Pickens, Secretaries of War and State, which led to the sending of Licut. Hall and Col. Mayne to Washington. It is asserted that the programme is that the robels were to demand the surrender of Fort Sunter, and on the Government's refussing, Anderson is to surrender it. It is asserted that he persistently assures the Government that he does not require reënforcements or supplies, to as to enable him to carry out this treacherous design. It is asserted that an attack or a feigned assault will be made on the Fort, so as to cover the treason-the surrender to be made without a conflict. It is asserted that the rebels have positive assurances from Major Anderson that the fort shall not be delivered into the control of the Republican Administration, in other words that he will play into their bands. It is asserted that the garrison is wholly without fuel, and has been for some' time; that women, the wives of men there, who have recently come up to the city, assert that so destitute is the fort of fuel that doors, window-casings, and other woodwork has been consumed; that a woman was, within a few days, confined there under circumstances of great suffering from the want of a fire. It is asserted that a few days ago there were but sixteen men fit for service, and that on Saturday last eight deserted in boats. It is asserted that before one week is out the rebels will have Fort Sumter according to this plan; and I am knowing to bets having been made that such will be the fact. It is asserted that all these things explain why Fort Sumter did not cooperate with the Star of the West.

Much more of the same kind is asserted as coming from beadquarters, all of which is believed by well informed gentlemen, whose words now I only repeat:

I am confident that extraordinary influences have been brought to bear on Maj. Anderson through Southern agencies; and, if I am to believe what I hear, that officer has recently been in conference with distinguished Southern gentiemen.

reërforce Morris Island battery. Passing King , astounding as these. In ordinary times their exsfreet when a squad was on their way, I list and treme improbability would be sufficient to put to the leave taking between those who were so them at rest. As it is, I am extremely loth to backy as to be sent on the duty ar a those wife give them carrency, and I would not do so, did

FROM VIRGINIA.

GLOOMY PROSPECT FOR THE UNION. From Car Own Correspondent.

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 17, 1861. Things look gloomy enough here for the Union. Both branches of the Legislature have passed the bill calling a Convention, and that body is to meet on the 13th instead of the 11th of February, as at first proposed. The clause making a memher of the General, Assembly ineligible to the Convention was stricken from the bill by the Senate, the House agreeing to their action, and thus the probability of adding a number of Secessionists is occurly increased. If the provision had been allowed to remain in the bill, while it could not have controled the action of the people, it would have been deemed expressive of the disinclination of the Legislature to have delegates chosen from that body, and served to keep out those fire-enters who are striving to precipitate Disurien. As it is, the only hope remaining to the conservative men is in the people, to whom the action of the Convention must be submitted for ratification. How far the leaven of Disunion has spread among them remains yet to be seen; but it is certain that the public sextiment of this State does not now retain the equipoise which characterized it only a few weeks ago.

South Carolina has managed the affair with a degree of skill and shrewdness worthy of a far better cause. Knowing the solitude and untenability of her position, when the true causes of her disaffection came to be analized and disclosed, and baying no confidence in the sympathy and support of the South in such a movement as the dissolution of the Union on the ground of mere local policy, subversive of the purposes for which the Federal Government was established, and indicative of intensity of selfishness and a disregard of the public tranquility, she waived all appeal to the justice of her cause, affected indifference to the opinions of her sister Southern States, assumed an attitude of independence which she knew she could not, unaided, maintain, and while getting up a show of promptness to act and determination to resist, silently but surely gathered to her support those most powerful, to her, of all auxiliaries the sectional preindices and animosities of the South.

The events of each day are tending to rouse those passions still further, and, without some unlooked-for interposition, the popular excitement, even in this conservative old Commonwealth, must continue to increase until reason shall be blinded and appeals to judgment shall be vain.

All the Douglas men, a large proportion of them Irish, are most determined and bitter in their opposition to any move tending to break up the Government. The latter urge that they have sworn allegiance to the United States, and have, n return, the pledge of protection. If the confederacy is dismembered, where is the protecting power! They are most violent and vehement in their denunciation of South Carolina, and are ready to resort to arms to enforce the Federal laws. Of course, they are coercionists, and loud in the approbation of the course of Gen. Scott and Major Anderson.

Mr. Seward's speech was most anxiously soked for here, and, when it came, excited general emise; and, so far as the speech itself is concerned, elicits general commendation. The prevalent opinion is, however, that it comes too ate. Those who do not think the day for compromise is past, think it is only a trick, all hellow profession, only intended to full the South into a

alse sense of security, until the 4th of March. Yesterday, the Alabama Commissioners were ormally received by the Legislature in the hall of the House of Belegates. Judge Hopkins delivered an address, setting forth the reasons of Alabama for seceding from the Knice. He at tempted to vindicate the right of secession, and gave a summary of the wrongs which his State Hought had been inflicted upon the South. His speech was a very dall and lame affair, and elicited not one round of applasse. Mr. Gilmer, his colleague, did not deliver a speech, but simply returned his thanks for the manner in which the Embassy had been received. There is a singular disparity between these two gentlemen sent upon the same mission-in appearance and years, I mean. Judge Hopkins is a fine specimen of hale old sge, very pleasant in countenance, and rotund in figure. Mr. Gilmer is quite the reverse, being very youthful in appearonce, bloodless in face, and lean in person. In one respect, they do not differ-neither of them

is a good speaker. Business is very dull here. I never saw so lift'e activity in the city. There is much suffering among the laboring classes, and no prospect of a speedy reflef. What a change in a few short months-and what an incalculable wrong has been inflicted upon the country and its citigens by a few selfish and scheming politicians.

## FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

WHAT THEY ARE DOING IN BOSTON.

rom Our Own Correspondent. BOSTON, Jan. 19, 1861.

Our Legislature yesterday passed resolves by a unanimous vote in both branches, tendering to the President such aid as he may require in men and money, to maintain the authority of the Government against the Rebels. There was a little disreputable fillibustering, in a private way, to prevent immediate action, but the moment the subject was brought to the attention of the Legislature itself, all opposition vanished. Mr. George T. Davis of Greenfield, who is on the Committee of Federal Relations, undertook to maintain the ground that no action should be taken relative to the enforcement of the laws until the Special Committee on the Personal Liberty bill had reported. It is a favorite idea of this gentleman and some others in this State that the way to deal with rebellion is to yield to the demands of the rebels, while they are actually engaged in making war on the Government. This is the rose-water style infinitesimally diluted. In accordance with this notion an order was introduced into the House, instructing the Special Committee to report on the Personal Liberty bill as soon as practicable. Mr. Davis supported this order in a speech, which was replied to by Mr. Pierce of Dorchester. The Yeas and Nays were called, and the order was rejected by a vote of 98 to 121—a clear majority of the House voting against it.
This does not by any means make it certain that the
Personal Liberty laws will not be repealed, but it indicates that we shall take our own time for that pur-pose, and are not to be hurried. There are certain ersons who are in favor of taking a middle courserepealing a part of the law and letting the rest Mr. Charles G. stand, or modifying it entirely. Loring is the representative of this class, and I

ing his views. But it seems evident that the Legislature should either repeal the bill, or refuse to charge a word of it. To make alterations in it would only increase the present clamor, for it would still be a Personal Liberty law; and it is against the name as well as the thing which the slaveholders and their allies protest. Anything, however worth less and inefficient, which looks like a protest against slave-enteling, will excite their indignation, and be the basis for a new agitation, and we shall be conypocrites and sneaks, as well as agitators,

ntermeddlers, and incenduries.

To show the sneaking character of the opposition tion to this law, it is only necessary to quote the language of one of the petitions designed to effect its repeal. I saw one this morning. It does not call for the repeal of any perticular statute, chapter, or section, but for the repeal of all laws which obstruct or embarrass the operation of any law of the United States. It is obvious that any man might sign this ithout ever desiring the repeal of our Personn Liberty laws, for there is no evidence that they obstruct or embarraes, or have any tendency to obstruct or embarrass, the execution of any law. It I should draft a petition asking the Legislature not to repeal any of the provisions on the statute book which afford safeguards to personal freedom, I presusse I could get the same set of signers. But neither petition would amount to much.

Another illustration of the sneaking character of these pro-Slavery political movements (for they are polling else) is furnished by the action of a meeting which was held at the rooms of the Board of Trade yesterday. At this meeting the following form of setition was adopted, viz:

The memorial of the subscribers, citizens of the City of Boses, te-pectfully showeth:

tor, respectfully showeth;

"That, while sharing in common with their fellow-citizens, the general solicitide at the dangers which are now threatening the pears and unity of our country, they desire to give their ergen and emphatic environments, they desire to give their ergen and emphatic environments, they desire to give their ergen and emphatic environments, and without discussion as to the merits of the various questions at items."

"Therefore, Your memorialists hundry pray that such measures may be speedily adopted by Congress, for the parithe settlement of our present difficulties, as will embrace succentially such a plan of compromise as may be decread expedient to restore tranquility and peace to our now distracted country."

The men empaged in this movement are nearly affile

The men engaged in this movement are nearly all Belleveretts and Democrats, the politicians who were outvoted in November. For instance, Charles L. Woodbury and Milton Andros, of the United tates Court; Harry Horton and James H. French, of the Trement Temple mob; James M. Beebe, Peter Harvey, Thomas P. Rich, Stephen Tilton, Richard S. Fay, jr., E. B. Bigelow, D. D. Kelly, Riley, Doherty, Amery, and so, on. The only Re-publican names which I recognize are those of Col. Rogers of The Journal, John S. Tyler, Josiah Dun-bam, Newell A. Thompson, and Otis Clapp, and probably these gentlemen, before the meeting closed, saw its object. Even Mr. F. J. Parker, who is a leading Democrat, finally refused to have anything to do with the movement, saying that "he could not compromise anything till he found the sece-ders showed a willingness to give up something of their interest." Mr. C. G. Nazro, whose political epinious are unknown to me, said he "could not support the petition. Because a State was bound to rebel against our laws, he did not deem it necessary to compromise all our principles to them, when they showed no spirit of compromise themselves. As he disagreed with the action of the Committee,

he felf it his duty to resign his place upon it."

I believe the 5,000 men who voted for Lincoln enerally stand firm; if they do not, our Representaes in Congress ought to have backbone enough to

nake up for their deficiency.

Some people here are a good deal amused at the comments of the Pro-Slavery press of New-York on Cen. John S. Tyler's proposition, in our House of acpresentatives, to send food to the (supposed) suf-lering people of Charleston. One of the papers bursts out in a furious trade against the "believers in nigger equality," who have thus grievously in-colled the Palmetto Empire. They much mistake Gen. Tyler. He is a thoroughpoing "Conservative, and, as I have just told you, is one of the few Republicans concerned in the petition movement. His cacke was offered in good faith and from the best of motives, and it yet remains to be seen that it is

nwise or unnecessary. Mr. Everett, I am happy to say, stands by his platform, "the Union, the Constitution, and the inforcement of the Laws," and is by no means in favor of Mr. Crittenden's proposition to amend the Constitution to accommodate the beaten party in the election. At least I infer this from the followng remarks which he made the other evening at the close or his lecture on Astronomy before the Mercantile Library Association. Said he: "I am sure it is not too late, on your behalf, as on my own, o utter the profound prayer that the close of this year may find you still in the unimpaired possession this glorious heritage of constitutional liberty n legacy of our fathers—derised with so much gridom, and comented with so much love." This indicates a disposition in Mr. Everett to stand Constitution as it is. I fear, however, he would not strenuously oppose any change, as he is cever streamous in advocating or approving anything. The only exception that I know of to this remark is to be found in his active opposition, last Winter, to the bill to supply the city of Charlestown with water, on the ground that his property at Med-ford would be injured thereby. But he may well be pardoned for showing some little feeling in such a

There is but little 'talk here about the Cabinet. Almost everybody I see will be gratified if the report is confirmed that Gov. Chase is to be associated with Mr. Seward in the Cabinet. I don't think that cur people expect that a Massachusetts man will be appointed, but a large majority of the Republicans here would undoubtedly prefer Mr. Adams to any

other man who has been prominently mentioned. Gov. Andrew has appointed Charles Allen, esq. of Greenfield, Reporter of Decisions of the preme Court, in place of Horace Gray, jr., resigned, This is reckoned an excellent appointment. A reclve has passed establishing the office of Private Secretary of the Governor, and it is said that Mr. Albert G. Browne, jr., of Salem, will receive the

Among the recent deaths in this State, I will mention that of the Rev. James T. Woodbury of Milford, formerly of Acton. He was a brother of Levi Woodbury, and a man of great ability and energy, and occasionally of great eloquence. His speech in the Legislature, seven or eight years ago, on the question of erecting a monument in Acton to Capt. Isaac Davis, who fell at Coccord on the 19th of April, was the most effective piece of legislative closuence I ever heard. Col. Joseph Butterfield of Lowell, who held the office of Deputy Sheriff fortyfive years, has also lately died.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

SECOND LETTER ON THE CRISIS FROM MR. J. L. O'SULLIVAN. Vanier Currier end. Editor of The Tribune

My DEAR SIE: If I trouble you again, it is because your reply to my inquiries in your paper of this morning retorts questions to me which I cannot leave unan-

Permit me first to correct a typographical error, by which I am made to say that the army for "coercion" which was mustered by Rehoboum against the second tribes, but whose march was countermanded by the 'man of God," saving, "Thus suith the Lord, Ye shall not go up nor fight against your brethren, the children of Israel," did not consist of "an hundred and fourscore chosen men which were warriors," but of 180,000; a vast army for that garden-plot of country, and for the small population of the tribes against which it was intended. For the fratricidal civil war now threatened from the North to "preserve the Union," by force, I doubt purch, notwithstanding a certain superficial effervescence of the moment, whether half that number could be drummed together and actually led across the frontier to such a bad and bloody business. And I am glad to feel assured that, though we may have few men of God" among us in those latter days, yet the word of the Lord" would soon make its still, small coice heard in the heart even of your most coercion Wide-Awakes, and you, too, Mr. Greeley, would then raise your powerful voice and thunder over the land of the North, that " Ye shall not go up nor fight against One word, too, about the immaterial personality you

ntroduce-es you had a perfect right to do. You remind me that, in 1848, I went with my New-York arty, "in conjunction with the Van Burens, Dix, understand he has prepared a bill contain-Cambrelery, Denn Richmond, &c.," against the nomi-

nation of Case, preclaiming the doctrine of the Wilmot Proviso, which the year before had been the unanimous doctrine of the whole North. This is more true than noty pertinent. We were led off into that great and much lamented mistake by peculiar causes, growing out of the relations of our State politics, and by great provocation at the hands of the friends of Gen. Cass. who had turned the New-York delegation defiantly out of the Baltimere Convention in a manner to throw us back upon our pride and upon our natural irritation. These, too, were very different times-the issues, the dangers, the national crisis, very different from those of new. Most of us very soon became convinced of the

perilons mistake which had been committed. The great

trisis of the Union of 1850, and the public discussion

elicited by it, soon made it apparent that the Wilmot

Proviso policy (to which we had only adhered a little

longer than the Democratic party of all the rest of the

North) must result in the description of the Union; that the South had a fair right to a fair share of the common territory, for the outflow of their growing population; and that the cooping up policy, the hemming in, the girdling policy, by crowding together the rapid Negro accomulation, while the White growth was free to drain off by emigration, must necessarily lead to the eventual abandonment of the soil to the Black racea prospect which the White race at the South could never be expected to submit to-which we are now ceing they will not submit to. Allow me to ask whether you esteem it the highest proof of wisdom, cander, and uprightness of mind for any man to claim that he has never made a single mistake in his life? I greatly respect your bold and outspoken faithfulness to your opinione; I like to see even those most antago sistle to myself in principles logically and bravely true to their consequences, even though the heavens fall it is refreshing, in these selfish days, to see a little honest fanaticism, even though it may be necessary, for the existence of society, respectfully to shout it down. I. therefore, do not find fault with you for your persistence in your convictions in regard to the Extension of Slavery into a square foot of new territory, coute qui coute, nor to your appeal back from the Webster of 1850 to the Webster of 1837; but I deny your right to call those weak-kneed" who, after once committing a brief mis take, under peculiar circumstances of provocation, honcetly and patriotically abandoned it when the logic of discussion and the logic of events combined to convince them that they had been constitutionally wrong, and that persistence in that error must lead inevitably to the dissolution of this grand Union, with all its consequences of woe. So much for the personal point which, fairly enough, though aside from the present argument, you have thought it worth while to make against my party and my humble self.

Soffer me, (though I confess this paragraph goes be youd my rightful line of reply to you, and therefore y a have a right to strike it out if you choose; but I ope you will not)-suffer me to add a third to the historical precedents I referred to yesterday, namely, that of the Roman secession, which was reconciled by wise concessions, and that of the Jewish, which was made permanent by their refusal. England, too, once re fused them to certain Colonies, revolted for the abstract principle of no toxation without representation. The public opinion of the feeble Colonies, with their less than three millions of inhabitants, was much more diyided than is now that of the South. That of Great Britain was much more united upon the assumed right, and upon the duty of "coercion," than is now that of the North; and the imperial government had the power of wielding, in that quarrel the whole energy, moral and physical, of the then greatest nation of the globe. The result you know. Allow me to quote a little from Mackrights" History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke." Speaking of the assembling of the Parliament after the arrival of the news of the surrender at Yorktown, which ended the war, he says:

at Yorktown, which ended the war, he says:

"The King's speech was much in the same tone as it had been ever since the war began. His Majesty was desirons of tranquisty, but would at t acrifice the rights and interests of his Empte. The restless annihition of his neutrino had first provoked, and then prulonged the struggle. On his part, no effort had been wanting to give pose and prosperty to his defined subjects in America. He had a firm conviction that the cause for which he contended was just he therefore counted on the protection of Divine Providence, and he called upon the Locdy and gentlemen in Parliament automated to the contended the described of the protection of the protection."

"This recommendated to support him in his exertions to rectore peace to all his described to the protection. Vet such was the social of the

shouldly ironical. Yet such was the spirit of the

This seems elsaudly ironical. Yet such was the spirit of the death in which the Ministers at such a time gravely put in the unit of the ir severeign. It was appropriately moved and seed dely two very young members. For immediately rose. He congratulated the mover and onder on the graceful manner in which they had performed is that certainly required the benefit of bexperience and the momendation of ignorance. Then, with the nimost volume which largings and manner were capable of expressing, risiculed the proposed Address; according denounced the else condect of the American war, alluded very significantly he scathoid as the just penishment of those who had carried in, accuse of the Ministers of treathery, and were called Lord in, accuse of the Ministers of treathery, and were called Lord in the Pilme Minister of France. He proposed in amendanter a total change of as stem. Lord North reputed to Fox speak accustfully of the Indinuations against his honesty, but powers a realised now in the Minister's speech such before shown, when only to be pleasant was before shown, when only to be pleasant was

it was founded in right, and dictated by neo

Minister could not perhaps say less; but this was as infigurated, "It immediately summened up Burke. He was as indiguantly vituperative as Fox, he was even still more passionately eloquent. This maintenence of an abstract right against reason, nestice, or policy, had from the first been the chiect of his powerful condemnation; he now at the moment when all that he had before declared as likely, had been proved by the results, fired against ide they etical claim a final voiley. Showing, in answer to the Mindsters that the context could not be so fully called unfortunate as disgraceful, and that the address, in reply to the royal appears, actually piediged the House to continue this rathous system, he turned round to the clair, and exclaimed indignantly: Good God! Mr. Speaker, are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war! Oh, excellent rights! Oh, valuable rights! Valuable rights! Valuable rights! Whitshise you chould be, for we have paid dear at parting with your Oh, valuable rights! Hat have cost Great British thirteen provinces, four islands, a hundred thousand men, and more than excently nations (tertifing) of money? Oh, wonderful rights! that have lest to Great British rights into the world done before her? Oh, inestinable rights; that have taken from us our rank money nations and our hoppiness et homes, that have taken from us our trade our manufactures, our wealth; that have taken from us our trade our manufactures, our wealth; that have taken from the most fourishing emptire in the world to be one of the most compact, unenvisible powers on the face of the globe! Oh, wonderfol rights; that are kiely to take from from us all that yet remises? In a similar strain he commonted on the infantation of Ministors thinking of mo consequences and forfeiting everything for a right which was onthing without the might to enforce it; and he barst forth with a beautiful liluation of the book of the world which was onthing when the say of the right to world on the back of a wolf, and therefore he must be s levation.

It immediately summaned up Burks. He was as indiguarity operative as Fox, he was even still more passionately elo-

I have abstained from italicising passages in the above, but commend the whole to the deep reflection of those gentlemen of the Republican press and in Congress who are now counseling the North, by the system of coercion which they call the enforcement of the laws, to thear the aroused and irritable wolf the white race of the South. Trest him, rather, kindly-treat him affectionately-treat him justly, and you will find him subside into the noble mastiff, the good and callant and beloved guardian of the homestead of the united family. You assign six points of reason against our appeals to

you to consent to an acceptable compromise with the South on the Territorial question (such as Crittenden's) which you translate into the phrase "backing down. What you call backing down I call recognition of a new and unforeseen state of facts-choice of the lesser evil between two existing alternatives-sacrifice of a portion of the cargo to save the ship-statesmanlike and patriotic yielding of a little pride of opinion to save one's country and to preserve this Union.

I. You say it would be accepting the anarchical idea that a single State by secession can dissolve the Union. No. Mr. Greeley. I spoke of secession grown to the imensions of a large and real revolution, such as that of the bulk of the Slave States, or even that of the Gulf States. I believe either would be too strong to be "coerced." If you are not yet convinced that the movement has reached such dimensions, I can only say that your incredulity holds out well, and can only refer you forward to the state of things which will have developed itself before we reach the "Ides of March." I had supposed that you must already by this time have been prepared to recognize the existing fact as being no longer the secession of South Carolina, but the revolution of the South.

II. and III. You do not believe in the alleged substantial aranimity of the South, or that even in the Cotton States a majority of the people, in any State out of South Carolina, are for secession. Whether they are | First Division as to deafen them to the appears of paer Let, we have no efficial reverd to appeal to. Just so triotiam? In it so perpulsions in the eyes of these

believed George III. in 1776, when they undertook the operation of shearing the wolf. It is of little practical bearing on the present question, if the Revolutionary party is able to control and to lead most of the Cotton States, and if the Union party or most of them is so morally feeble as not to dure even to raise a voice. But, so for as I have been able to understand the state of things at the South, the only difference apparent between parties there has been on the question of immediate scression by single State action, or cooperative seecssion after having made a formal demand on the North for the recognition of Slave property is the Territories. Inasmuch as your party, at least in Congress, stands inflexible, on that point, I do not see that this more moderate party at the South helps you much; and, unless those adequate concessions now so madly (in my humble opinion) refused are promptly interposed to arrest the fast-spreading revolution, I think even you will soon reach the point of our present understanding of the true character, depth, strength, and determination of this movement. But perhaps you and yours will reach it only when it will be " Too LATE !" Alas, then, for the Union! Alas for our country! Alss for the hope of the world! Alas for us! And, most of all, plas for you !

IV. You see no evidence that the South would be satisfied with Crittenden's plan, and call on me for my proof. I can only answer, First: That all the newspaper accounts of the proceedings in the Schate Comlittee of Thirteen, when that plan was rejected by the votes of ail the Republicans, and of Messra. Davis and Toombs, united in saying that those gentlemen intin sted that they would accept it if the Republicans would offer it in good faith. Secondly: That my own conversation with a number of the most vehement and extreme of the Southern leaders at Washington make me know that they and their friends in Congress would have accepted it if the Republicans would have consented to it, and made me therefore believe that they would still do so. Thirdly : That all the border States would, self-evidently, accept it, and all the less violent part of the people in the cotton States, and therefore that it would avail to save the Union. And, Fourthly: That you have no right to say that they would not accept it, till you (that is to say, your people in Congress) bave tried. Sir, it would be accepted; it would save the Union; and I believe it would be ratified by a majority of your party as well as by all of ours, on a distinet popular vote. V. In regard to "coercion" of the revolution, when

you shall become at last convinced that it is a revolution, you agree to peaceable separation in preference to war. So far we concur; and in this you are wiser, as well as mere humane, than most of those of your party whom we read in the papers and hear in the streets. But you say it must be after a tranquil vote, to your satisfaction, in the seceding States, and a constitutional assent by the remaining ones. Well, when the revolution has reached its full stature (already, unhappily, in is big erough, though as yet not half grown) it will speak for itself as a great fact, and you will probably then recognize it without a further ratifying vote among the people who have made it. The form of the Northern assent, which you indicate your willingness then to give, is of no great practical consequence. It is enough that you will unite with us against all attempts to master the "hundred and four score thousand chosen men which are warriors."

VI. You reject my appeal to you (and to the Republican press generally) to consent to " submit the question, clean and square, to the votes of the same Northern States which have just elected Mr. Lincoln," saying that you "demur to holding a special election to decide some special issue, until the result of the late general election, held under the Federal Constitution, shall have been first recognized and submitted to as valid and binding." Parden me if I regardatis form of refusal as evasive, though its substance is positive. I may deceive myself, but I believe that on a direct submission of the Cristenden Compromise to the people of the North, you would be beaten to-morrow out of your own institutional "boots;" and I am mistaken if, before long, if not already, Mr. Lincoln bimself would not, wisely and patriotically, cast his own vote for it.

-And now, Mr. Greeley, wast this Union go t pieces? Must the world behold that spectacle of shame, we that of grief? And all for the consistency of you Republican extremists, and for the sacro-sanctity of a single plank of the Chicago Platform! Can this thing be, or is it all a bideous dream?

Mr. Lincoln might have saved it before now. Mr. Seward might have saved it on Saturday-perhaps he may yet! And I pray to God he yet may, before it is to late? You, too, Mr. Greeley, hold in your hand such an amount of power in your party, or your portion of your party, that you, too, could do it, could your eyes but be opened to see the truth as we see it-as no small number of your own Republicans, too, now idmit that they see it. You are courageous enough, and conscientions enough to your convictions, as I am satisfled, to be capable of doing it, if your mind could but be reached by the logic of the events now fast crowding upon us. It would be the greatest and the proudest as of your career. It would alone well repay all the vigorons labors of a life, which, at the head of Tue Taip-UNE, and in a high position of leadership in your party, have placed you at the point of this magnificent opportunity. Can you not rise to the sublime level of this J. L. O'SULLIVAN. great work!

SUMMARY AND EASY SETTLEMENT OF THE WHOLE THING. Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 16, 1861. From the first, I have seen but one course to prevent bloodshed, and I must confess my surprise that it has

not been acted upon long since. 1. Let all postal and telegraphic communications, so far as the Government have them in their power, be immediately cut of with South Carolina and all the

sceeding States. 2. Close every port in a secoding State as a port of

entry, and station men-of-war sufficient to enforce the orders to that effect, and then let the rebels man and bave the care and cost of all the forts they have taken. These two acts alone, I believe, will do more to pre-

vent bloodshed and bring the traitors their reason than

all the compromise measures which can be proposed within the next twelve menths. My reasons by this belief are founded on the extreme sensitiveness shown by South Carolina, from the very inception of this rebellion, regarding the postal service. She has tensclously clang to this branch of our Government from the first day of her secossion. Imagine her cut off (save by special messengers) from all communications with the South, the West, the North, in fact, with Europe and all parts of the world. She would be as atterly helpless, without the fact which letters, newspapers, and dispatches bring to feed the flames of rebellion, as is one of Mr. Rarey's horses after he has been strapped up and thrown at his tamer's feet, a conquered, and I toubt not a greatly astounded piece of horse fiesh. My pinion has been, from the first, that we must parsie xactly the same treatment with these mad, unbroken brethren of ours, to keep them from dashing out our brains and destroying themselves, as this certainly very clever brute-tamer pursues toward his "Cruisers," his "Peacocks," and his "Mustangs," They must be now taught that they have not all the power, and that the trop is in our hands, to be used in tempering their wild passions; that we will use it only in kindness, for their good and ours, and that it will be removed so roon as they show an appreciation of the truth, that our intention is to do them no harm, but to be their friends and not their exemies, as they now call us. This withdrawal of our poetal service and the closing of the ports of rebelling States will give them time to think. That is what the geople in the South most need, and it is exnetly what their wicked leaders are not willing they

THE SEVENTH REGIMENT READY.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribene. Sin: Must the impression continue to go forth uncontradicted that cotton has so stuffed the ears of the